

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 IO-13 NEA-10

/085 W

-----220240Z 127222 /66

O R 212315Z MAY 77

FM AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6067

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 JOHANNESBURG 1273

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW)

SUBJECT: MAPUTO CONFERENCE CLOSING SESSION

1. MAPUTO CONFERENCE ENDED MID-DAY MAY 21 ON NOTE OF MODERATION AFTER ADOPTING THE DECLARATION AND PROGRAMME OF ACTION. IN ADDITION TO PRESENTATION OF REPORTS AND TRADITIONAL CLOSING STATEMENTS BY THE CONFERENCE OFFICERS AND LEADERS, SALIM (TANZANIA), AND CHAISSANO (MOZAMBIQUE) READILY AGREED TO FINAL DAY PROCEDURES WHICH ENABLED WESTERN DELEGATES TO REGISTER FORMALLY ANY RESERVATIONS. SURPRISE WAS EASTERN BLOC DECISION TO DISASSOCIATE FROM "SOME PROVISIONS" BECAUSE THEY REGARDED THEM AS TOO WEAK.

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2. ALL SPEAKERS CONTINUED TO EMPHASIZE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE "MAPUTO SPIRIT" OF CONCILIATION AND COOPERATION. THE ATTENDANCE IN FORCE OF THE WEST, LED BY THE U.S., WAS AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS IN THE CREATION OF THIS ATMOSPHERE, WHICH NEARLY EVERYONE SEEMED TO AGREE WAS UNIQUE IN THE HISTORY OF WESTERN-AFRICAN RELATIONS CONCERNING THESE OLD PROBLEMS. MANY STATEMENTS AND MANY INDIVIDUALS PRIVATELY EXPRESSED A HOPE AND

EXPECTATION THAT THE SPIRIT ENJOYED HERE WOULD CARRY INTO OUR DEALINGS IN THE FUTUREM

3. THE US STATEMENT WAS RECEIVED WITHOUT WILD ACCLAIM, BUT WITH SERIOUS SATISFACTION BY THE LEADERS WHO THEMSELVES HAD BEEN HEAVILY INVOLVED IN WORKING OUT OUR STRATEGY. THE FACT THAT THE WEST COULD TAKE A COMMON POSITION; THE CONCILIATORY TONE AND METHOD OF HANDLING RESERVATIONS; AND THE STRAIGHTFORWARD EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN GOALS STRUCK MOST OF THE DELEGATES AS BEIN UNPRECEDENTED AND A FURTHER MARK OF OUR NEW APPROACH. AFRICAN DELEGATIONS AS DIVERSE AS TANZANIA AND IVORY COAST COMPLIMENTED US ON OUR "GOOD" OR "EXCELLENT" STATEMENT. THE MOZAMBICANS HAD A MIXED REACTION. SOME FOUND THE STATEMENT EXCELLENT. CHISSANO HIMSELF WAS DISTURBED BY THE PHRASE THAT WE HAD "A NUMBER OF RESERVATIONS.

4. THE EC-9 STATEMENT, CONTRIVED HURRIEDLY AND AT THE COST OF INTENSE INTERNAL WRANGLING (INVOLVING DENMARK AND ITALY, WHO DID NOT HAVE CLEAR INSTRUCTIONS), WAS RECEIVED COOLY BY THE CONFERENCE. IN LARGE PART THIS OWED TO THE SHARPER, LESS FORTHCOMING TONE OF THE STATEMENT; IN PART IT ALSO REFLECTED DEEP-SEATED AFRICAN SUSPICIONS OF THE BRITISH WHO DELIVERED IT. FOR MOST AFRICANS, ACCORDING TO A COUPLE OF COMMENTS, WHAT THE EUROPEANS SAY IS RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT--UNLESS THE US IS ASSOCIATED WITH IT.

5. THE REACTIONS OF OUR PARTNERS IN THE "GANG OF FIVE" SEEMED TO SHOW GREAT SATISFACTION AT THE OUTCOME OF THE CONFERENCE, PARTICULARLY THE OBVIOUS EFFECT OF OUR ALLIED PRESENCE. THE FRG
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DELEGATION REPORTED THEY HAD RECEIVED AN EXPRESS "WELL DONE" FROM BONN. THEY WERE ASKED TO CONVEY "WARM REGARDS" TO THE OTHER FOUR DELS. THE CANADIAN REP EXPRESSED ELATION AT OUR STEP FORWARD. THE FRENCH ARE ALSO VERY SATISFIED WITH OUR UNITY, AND SPOKE OF NEW HOPE FOR CONCRETE PROGRESS ON THE PROBLEMS BEFORE US. OUR BRITISH FRIENDS HAD A ROUGH PASSAGE, RIGHT UP TO THE END WHEN THEY INADVERTENTLY FORGOT TO INSCRIBE THEMSELVES TO SPEAK FOR THE EC-9, AND NEARLY GOT FORGOTTEN. THEIR BIGGEST PROBLEM WAS LONDON WHICH INSISTED THEY TAKE A HARDER POSITION THAN THE BRITISH DELEGATION THOUGHT WISE. EVEN SO, IN THE END EVEN THE BRITISH SHOULD BE SATISFIED. DESPITE THE TUSSELE BETWEEN LONDON AND MAPUTO, AND STRONG DISCOMFORT OVER THE ELEMENTS OF THE FINAL PACKAGE THE BRITISH DELS ARE GRATIFIED TO HAVE SALVAGED ALLIED UNITY AND WILLING TO LIVE WITH THEIR NEW UNDERTAKINGS. AMBASSADOR MURRAY SAID HE IN ANY EVENT CONVINCED MAPUTO WILL BE OF ENORMOUS HELP, AS IT TURNED OUT, IN OUR JOINT NEGOTIATING PROBLEMS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 JOHANNESBURG 1273

6. ONE GOOD LEG-UP WAS GIVEN US BY THE SOVIETS AND EASTERN BLOC, WHEN THEY HAD TO JOIN THE PARADE OF SPEAKERS ENTERING RESERVATIONS. THEIR GROUNDS FOR RESERVING WERE THAT THE CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS WERE FAR TOO WEAK TO BE USEFUL. THEY WARNED AGAINST "DIVERSIONS", MEANING NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH DISTRACT AFRICA FROM THE REAL FIGHT. THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT DONE WELL AT MAPUTO - THEY KEPT A LOW PROFILE, AND WHEN THEY DID POKE THE HEADS UP THEY GOT HIT MORE OFTEN THAN NOT. THE TONE OF THE CONFERENCE - BOTH MOOD AND SUBSTANCE - SEEMED COUNTER TO SOVIET INTERESTS.

7. IN ANOTHER INTERESTING BY-PLAY, ZAMBIA WAS BARELY DISSAUDED BY CONFERENCE LEADERS FROM INTRODUCING AT THE FINAL SESSION A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING RHODESIAN CROSS-BORDER INCURSIONS AND CRITICIZING THE BRITISH FOR THEIR RECENT HANDLING OF MESSAGES TO KAUNDA. ZAMBIA ULTIMATELY AGREED TO GIVE UP ON ITS RESOLUTION IN THE INTEREST OF MAINTAINING THE SPIRIT OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ERENCE TO THE END. IN RETURN THE AFRICAN GROUP'S TWO FINAL

SESSION SPEAKERS INCLUDED IN THEIR STATEMENTS THE SUBSTANCE
AND IN PART THE LANGUAGE OF THE ABORTIVE ZAMBIAN RES.

8. IT WAS A FINAL PROOF OF THE SERIOUS DETERMINATION OF THE
AFRICAN LEADERS TO PRODUCE RESULTS THAT MEET THE WEST PART-
WAY WHEN THE CONFERENCE OFFICERS MADE COMPLETELY CLEAR AND
SPECIFIC EXPLANATIONS OF THE RESERVATIONS ENTERED BY A NUMBER
OF DELS. FURTHERMORE, THIS NOTE ALSO HAS BEEN INSERTED IN
THE WRITTEN CONFERENCE REPORT GOING FORWARD TO THE 32ND GA.
THE FIVE ARE SATISFIED THAT WE WERE GIVEN FAIR AND CONSIDERATE
TREATMENT, PROTECTING OUR ESSENTIAL POSITIONS.

9. ON THE LAST DAY, A NUMBER OF SPEAKERS ALLUDED TO THE US -
WESTERN THEME: "TRUST US; WE'RE SERIOUS THIS TIME - BUT WE
NEED TIME TO WORK." THEY SAID THEY ARE WILLING TO TRUST US,
AND TO GIVE US TIME, BUT NOT AT THE COST OF HALTING ARMED
STRUGGLES. AT ANY RATE, AFRICA NOW WILL WAIT AND WEIGH THE
FOLLOW-UP OF THE WESTERNERS. WESTERN SUCCESS WILL GAIN AFRICAN
SUPPORT; TIME CONSUMING FAILURE WILL RE-KINDLE AFRICAN BITTER-
NESS.
KIRBY

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